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or for his immediate family. The Imerina may have been an exception to this rule, but accounts of the early conditions there are vague and conflicting. Elsewhere, priests cannot delegate their functions to *ombiasy* even temporarily. Among the western tribes, where the distinction between the two offices is most rigid, *ombiasy* may not even direct sacrifices. 791
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SACRIFICES ON BEHALF OF THE GENS.—Among the Menabe, sacrifices on behalf of the entire gens were made only in time of national calamity, such as pestilence, very serious crop failure, or an attack which threatened to drive the gens from its territory or subjugate it. They were performed on the tops of sacred mountains, the idea being that the worshippers were thus lifted closer to heaven and their prayers made more easily audible to the gods and ancestors. Each gens had one or more of these mountains within its territory. The Zafiakotry had three, which were the sites of three of their ancient villages, later abandoned. I could not learn whether the sacred mountains of other gentes had ever been inhabited. At present it is not taboo to visit the mountains or even to cultivate their lower slopes, but the summits are shunned as the abode of spirits. These high places are not marked by memorial stones or other permanent altars. A temporary wooden altar (see Sacrifices on Behalf of Individuals) was erected for the ceremony. 618
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When there was more than one sacred mountain, the leading *ombiasy* of the gens, or some foreign *ombiasy* of great power, indicated which one should be used. He also selected the priest who was to officiate from among all those in the gens and indicated the ritual to be used, especially whether the sacrifice was to be boiled or grilled. The ritual was the same as for individual sacrifices. Apparently no sacrifices on behalf of a gens have been performed in recent times. [791]

Sacrifices on behalf of a village or group of villages were performed before setting out on a war party. These have been described in the section on Warfare. They may have been performed on a few other occasions as well, but informants were uncertain. Since the establishment of French control they also have become obsolete. [724]

SACRIFICES ON BEHALF OF INDIVIDUALS.—Sacrifices of this type are the commonest of all Tanala ceremonies. Although they are always made on behalf of some individual, the larger and more important ones are participated in by the entire village and are felt to be a reassertion of the close relation existing between the living and the souls of their ancestors. They may be performed during 782

411 The outer surface was convex, to allow room for the handle. This was cut from the solid piece, its inner surface being flush with the rim of the shield (Fig. 25, b). The average thickness of the wood was $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches. The face of the shield was covered with rawhide with the hair on. This was put on wet, stretched tight, and fastened with wooden pegs driven through it into the rim. Apparently, shields were never decorated. They were used mainly for fending spears, being too small to afford much shelter. However, one old [726] man said that in attacking a village the warriors would run in and crouch under their shields while they hewed a way through the stockade with their axes.

The blow-gun, *faly*, was an important weapon in ancient times. It was rarely employed in open battle, but was effective in the defense of villages and for sniping from ambush. The Tanala say that it was much dreaded by their neighbors in the plateau, who were unaccustomed to jungle fighting. It is still in constant use for hunting lemurs and other small game and few households are without one.

Two types of blow-gun are in use, natural tubes made from thick reeds or a long-jointed species of bamboo, and wooden blow-guns, which have to be pierced. The former are rarely over $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter and are 10 to 12 feet long. The septa are pierced with a hot iron. Such guns are often reinforced at the joints with rings of rawhide, made by drawing on sections of the skin from a cow's tail while wet (Fig. 24, b, b1).

The wooden blow-guns are thicker and shorter, but never over $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. They are made from shoots which have a pithy center or from whole stems of a small species of palm. The bore is hollowed out with an iron spike about 10 inches long and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. This is heated red hot and forced down into the soft center of the stem. As the hole becomes deeper, it is shaken down by striking the bottom of the stem on the ground. A number of reheatings are, of course, necessary. When the pith has been burned out from end to end, the spike is heated once more and is slid rapidly back and forth to smooth the bore and make it of uniform diameter. The ends of wooden guns are often reinforced with bands of rawhide, like those already described. Occasionally they are coated with melted beeswax, to make them more nearly airtight. I saw a few specimens in which the muzzle had been marked by scraping the wood flat on a strip about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide and 1 inch long. This showed which side of the gun was to be kept uppermost in shooting and was also useful as a sight.

721 they were content to remain in their own territory, only asking to
 181 be let alone. They had little incentive for internal strife, for there
 was no great spoil in cattle to be gained and only the southern
 gentes were in reach of slave markets. The various political groups
 fought among themselves from time to time, but their wars were
 rarely of long duration.

701 The Tanala Ikongo seem to have been considerably more
 721 warlike than the northern division and had a rather better
 military organization, patterned on that of the neighboring tribes.
 Sadaro Antoine says: "The king was the commander of the army
 and had charge also of recruiting. In time of peace there were no
 soldiers but in war all served. Before going on an expedition the
 king called together all the gens and village chiefs and informed them
 that an attack was projected against such and such a gens. He
 ordered the mobilization of the *fanalolahy* [reserve officers], the
 recruiting of soldiers, the purchase of guns and ammunition, if there
 were not enough, and the making of spears and the gathering of
 food. The gens and village chiefs promised to fulfil his orders and
 returned to their villages. On a day fixed by the *ombiasy* [medicine-
 man] all the soldiers, commanded by the *fanalolahy*, presented them-
 selves before the king. He made them the following speech: 'I
 thank you for answering my appeal. I wish to attack such and such
 a gens and ask your courage and devotion. I hope that you will
 always be brave and valiant.' An armed *fanalolahy* then advanced
 and replied: 'Sire, have confidence in us. We will be prompt to
 carry out your wishes.' To show his strength and agility he threw
 his spear into the air and caught it again, advanced, retreated and
 danced about before the crowd." The actual speeches were long and
 flowery and a number of officers from different gentes and villages
 replied. "After the *kabary* [speech making] the king gave cattle to
 the soldiers. These were killed and the meat distributed among them.
 The *fanangany* [withers] and the *trafony* [hump] were given to the
 726 *fanalolahy*. The morning of the day fixed for their departure the
 king put a silver bracelet on his *fatora* [sacrifice post] and addressed
 a prayer to *Zanahary* and the ancestors to give their protection and
 grant victory. The expedition took the road with the *fanalolahy*
 first, then the soldiers, then the king surrounded by the warriors of
 his household, and lastly the rearguard and the porters with the
 supplies. When they had arrived within a few miles of the enemy
 village they camped for the night in the forest or some hidden place.
 The *fanalolahy* sent forward patrols to study the position of the

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enemy. When they had this information they divided the men into several sections, each under the command of a *fanalolahy*. In order to be recognized the soldiers wore a *felana* [disk of white shell] on the forehead or hair. About 2 A.M. the army took the road again to surround the village and attack it. The king and his company remained at the camp. The signal for assault was a volley fired into the village. The people in the village seized their arms and hurried to the defense. The battle began, the people fighting with spears and axes. If the defenders were defeated they took to flight. All the enemy men captured were killed on the spot; only women and children were taken as slaves. As for the enemy king, even if the village was taken he never left his house. He put his weapons beside him and sat at the eastern door waiting to go out. If he had the bad luck to fall into the hands of the *anakova*, brothers of the hostile king, he was killed on the spot, but if he was captured by a commoner, he was saved. The soldier lifted the enemy king on his shoulders and bore him out of the village to help his escape. After looting, the village was burned and the *ompiady* [combatants] went back to their camp with the booty. After complimenting the army and the soldier who had saved the enemy king, the king gave the order to retire. When he arrived at his own village the booty was divided. The king received the largest share, then the *fanalolahy*, then the ordinary soldiers. If there were prisoners the king always kept his share and employed them in his service. Those falling to the *fanalolahy* and soldiers were usually sold or exchanged for cattle. The proceeds were divided among them. After the war the relatives of the prisoners sent their king to buy them back. The king liberated them for from ten to fifteen cattle each. If they were not ransomed, they were sold to the east coast tribes for guns and powder." These tribes sold them in turn to European and Arab slave traders.

It has seemed best to give this account in full, but a few comments are necessary. The *fanalolahy* were simply warriors who had distinguished themselves in previous expeditions. The rank was conferred by general consent and not as a reward for any specific act of bravery or even for length of service. Although they acted as officers or leaders in action, their powers over the other soldiers were very indefinite and there was notling like military discipline. The *ombiasy* ("medicine-man") certainly played a much more important part in the expedition than has been ascribed to him, but the extent of his activity is uncertain. Among the Menabe, as will be shown presently, he was practically the leader. The peculiar

701 arrangement by which an enemy king took no part in the combat and was saved by any commoner who captured him was due to the social organization of the Ilongo. Among them one gens had attained royal rank and nearly all the kings belonged to it. The commoner was thus saving the life of one of his own king's relatives.

726 Among the Menabe the whole arrangement was looser and more democratic. There were no kings in the old days and war was decided upon by the influential men of the gens. Later, when royal institutions had been introduced, the king and council decided on war and the king then had a trumpet blown to summon the whole village to the public square. There he announced that they would make [791] war on such and such a village on such and such a date. The date was always a propitious one chosen by an *ombiasy* who had been selected for his skill in such matters and who would look after the magical details of the expedition. Messengers were sent to the other villages of the gens and to allied gentes. If it was a great undertaking all the able-bodied men of the tribe participated, if a small expedition each village furnished a quota fixed by the king. The *fanalohy* seem to have had less authority here than in the south. To distinguish them from the other soldiers they wore a *felana* ("shell disk") and crocodile-tooth charm on the left side of the forehead and a broad bandoleer hung with charms (called *tamango*) passing over the right shoulder. There were no other war costumes, although all warriors wore charms. Painting for war was unknown.

726 On the day fixed the warriors assembled in a camp outside the village. This was usually near the village sacred place, where the 782 ancestral stones were erected. There seem to have been no taboos in connection with the camp. Women and children could visit it and young men about to go on the expedition often celebrated their marriages there. Cattle were killed, the number depending on the size of the war party, and the best ox was chosen for sacrifice. The sacrifice was made at the ancestral stones by the regular ritual (see Prayer and Sacrifice). The officiating *mpisaorana*, the hereditary sacrificial priest, was chosen by the *ombiasy* from among the *mpisaorana* present, and he also advised whether the parts offered were to be grilled or boiled. The usual invocation was made to the gods and ancestors, but they were asked to bless the expedition and the chief against whom it was directed was named. The party sometimes remained in camp as much as three days.

726 The expedition left the camp at the exact moment set by the 791 *ombiasy* and both he and the king accompanied it. The *ombiasy's*

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ody ("charms") were carried at the very head of the column by a man chosen because he had a fortunate name such as *Vanona* ("successful"), *Ndremita* ("one who finishes what he has begun") or *Tongalaza* ("honorable"). It was forbidden for anyone to pass this man on the march. The *ody* were special ones carried on all war parties and their power increased with success. At night the *ombiasy* stayed with them in a special hut. After the *ody* marched the *fanalolahy*, then the king and *ombiasy*, and last the ordinary soldiers. When they had come close to the enemy village they went into camp and sent forward three or four scouts to reconnoiter the position. These reported to the *ombiasy* on their return and he arranged the plan of attack and decided whether or not to split the force into detachments. They spent the night in camp and attacked at dawn, at a trumpet signal. Neither the king nor *ombiasy* took part in the actual fighting. If the village surrendered with little or no resistance it was not looted or even fined, but was taken as a vassal. If the resistance was fierce and the attackers lost heavily, all the men were killed and the women and children enslaved. As a special severity the men's heads were cut off and hung up in the village for the hawks to eat. In rare cases the tomb of an enemy village was also burned, but this showed unusual rancor. The spoils were divided on the return of the party, the rules being much the same as in the southern division except that the *ombiasy* had first choice of the loot. No ceremonies attended the return.

If a village accepted vassalage, the heads of all the families in it went through a ceremony of submission. Water was prepared in a bowl with the same ingredients as for the oath of blood brotherhood. A spear was held in this head down, all the family heads grasping the shaft with the right hand. If there was not room enough for all, some of them held the left hands of those grasping the spear. The *ombiasy* of the victors tapped the shaft with a knife, repeating the blessings and curses of the blood brotherhood oath, except that the victors remained unbound by the agreement. An ox was killed and after taking the oath the family heads ate pieces of the liver. No ceremony attended its killing and it was not considered a sacrifice. Vassal villages paid no tribute but were expected to assist their overlords in war.

In addition to the regular war parties small slave-stealing raids were rather common. Sometimes as few as two warriors would go to a village and lie in wait near the spring, seizing a woman or child and carrying it off. There was usually a pursuit and the practice